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COBBETT'S LETTERS TO LANDLORDS,

*On the Agricultural Report
and Evidence.*

LETTER I.

Worth, Sussex, 1 September 1821.

LANDLORDS,

1. IN the Register of the 11th of last month, at page 230, I opened this subject, in what I called the *first Number* of a series of articles. Since that day, I have obtained a copy of the *Evidence*, subjoined to the Report of the *Agricultural Committee*, of which Committee MR. GOOCH was Chairman. I had, before, obtained *extracts*, and had made minutes; but, upon examining the *Evidence* at full length, I find what I before possessed to be very imperfect as to some weighty particulars. Indeed, the papers now before me furnish, if my mind be equal to the task, matter for the most instructive essays, on the management of a nation's affairs, that writer ever penned and peo-

ple ever perused. We have here, though mixed up pell-mell; though throwed together like all sorts of grain with all sorts of chaff, with the addition of dirt and dust and muck and dung; all the materials for showing, *how it is* that a people is rendered happy or miserable, contented or discontented, loyal or disaffected, by the *measures of a government*.

2. Will you, *the Landlords*, read these Essays with attention and patience? No; not you, indeed; but, the Essays will live to bear witness of your great injustice and of your greater folly; and, the historian, when he is giving an account of the *revolutions* of these times, of the sapplings, the underminings, the explosions, of these days, and especially of the silent *fall* of the *old* and silent *rise* of the *new*, proprietors of the land, will, for the *causes* of so apparently unaccountable an event, refer to these very Essays.

3. The Report and Evidence make a closely printed folio volume of 479 pages. These have

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been laid before the House of Commons by a Committee, appointed, in *March* last, to examine into the allegations of numerous petitions complaining of *distress in the affairs of agriculture*, which Committee made their Report and brought in the Evidence on the 18th of June. The Members of the Committee were,

Mr. Gooch.	Mr. Estcourt.
Lord Castlereagh.	Mr. S. Bourne.
Mr. F. Robinson.	Mr. Tremayne.
Lord Althorp.	Sir Wm. Rowley.
Mr. Banks.	Mr. Calthorpe.
Mr. Brougham.	Mr. Hunter Blair.
Mr. Huskisson.	Mr. Irving.
Sir E. Knatchbull.	Sir T. Lethbridge.
Mr. S. Wortley.	Mr. Littleton.
Mr. Baring.	Mr. Ald. Bridges.
Sir H. Parnell.	Mr. N. Calvert.
Mr. Wodehouse.	Mr. Ricardo.
Mr. Western.	Mr. Curwen.
Mr. H. Sumner.	Mr. D. Browne.

4. Now, before I proceed to an examination of these papers, which are, on account of the subject, of the greatest possible public importance, it seems necessary to give a *general description* of the Report and of the Evidence, if any such description can reach things so uncommonly heterogeneous in their matter and confused in their manner.

5. What the Report ought to have been is clearly enough pointed out by the tenor of the

petitions, which complained of *distress* amongst the *Farmers*, and which prayed for *relief* generally, or, particularly, by means of a tax on imported corn. Now, the first thing to ascertain was, whether the distress *really existed*, and, if it did, to *what degree*. Next, whether the distress were *temporary*, or *permanent*, and this should have brought out a clear explanation of the *cause*, or *causes*, of the distress. Then would have followed, whether any relief at all *could* be given *by the House*, and if it could, whether it *ought* to be given; and here would have come in a clear view of the manner in which the several classes of the community were affected by the return of low-prices, and in which they *had been effected* by high-prices; and the *causes* of those low and those high prices ought to have been clearly laid before the House; in order that it might have seen, what ground there was for hope, that relief would come from the *mere operations of time*; or, if it could see no such hope, what measures, other than those called for by the petitioners (if those were not proper to be adopted,) it would be necessary to take into its consideration.

6. Instead of this, what have

we? Numerous statements, many of them foreign to the subject, a set of arguments and opinions, not at all tending to the elucidation of the matter in question, but manifestly in mere *opposition* to the opinions, the apprehensions, and the prayers of the petitioners; a smoothly-written and badly-arranged Essay on Prices of farm-produce, as affected by seasons and by currency, and on the degree in which property, and landed property especially, is affected by those prices. As to the *objects*, they manifestly are, to prevent the passing of another corn-bill; to create a belief that the distress is less than it has been represented; to cause it to be believed that the distress is merely temporary, that it has reached its highest point, and will speedily pass away; to lull the farmers (and more especially the Landlords) by a hope of a reduction of taxes sufficient to afford them relief; to excite horror against all attempts to obtain relief by a reduction of the interest of the Debt, and, above all things, to cause it to be believed, that the evil, be it what it may, *is not to be ascribed to the government.*

7. The *manner* of the Report, its way of going to work and of proceeding, is such, that, to take

the paper in its *own order* would be to give rise, not to any clear comprehension of its matter, but to a confused mass of ideas respecting that matter. So true it is, that a man may write smoothly, and even with clearness when we look at the several parts of his performance in a detached state; and, at the same time be destitute of compass of mind sufficient to place the thing, as a whole, clearly in the mind of the reader. Such is the case of the writer, or writers, of this Report; for, like a being mentioned in the Scriptures, they seem to have been many. Probably Mr. HUSKISSON, under the direction chiefly of the *stern-path* politicians, though there is, here-and-there, a passage, which seems impossible to have come from the brain of any living soul, save that of the hole-digging thunderer himself.

8. Clearly to state in detail the *meaning* of such a performance is no easy matter; and it is still more difficult to give to its errors and absurdities a full exposure. The divers matters are so *mixed-up*; they are made to *run so much into one another*; there is, in short, such confusion, that it requires no common degree of labour to separate them in such way as to reduce the assertions contained in the

mass to any thing like *distinct propositions*.

9. This, however, is what I must endeavour to do; or, it will be wholly useless for me to attempt an exposure of the errors and the fooleries that lie so thickly spread before me.

10. Come, then, Landlords, let us *state the case*: let us ourselves rise above the fog. The case is this: the farmers in name, and the landlords in fact, complain of *distress*; that is to say, of a falling off in their *gains*, or *incomes*. They ascribe this to *low prices*, and seek a remedy in a *tax on foreign corn*. The Reporters, that is to say those who concur in views with the Ministers, say, that the remedy will be found without a new corn-bill; without a repeal of Peel's Bill; and without that which they call a breach of National Faith. *I say*, that a tax on foreign corn, and that a new corn-bill of whatever description, would *do you and your farmers no good*; but, that, without a repeal of Peel's Bill, or, without what is called a breach of National Faith, *the present Landlords must lose their estates*.

11. The Ministers are aware of the great extent of the belief in the soundness of my opinions. They are well aware of the many thou-

sands of sensible men, who think precisely with me upon the subject. They are not ignorant, that many, and even a great many, *even of the Landlords*, while they piously wish the prophet at the Devil, do, nevertheless, firmly believe in the prophecy. Therefore, the great object of the Report is, to persuade you into the belief, that the prophecy is false, and that Peel's Bill, full interest of the Debt, and all may still go on, and that you, the present Landlords, *will not lose your estates*.

12. I am happy in the thought that I am able to *prove* to you, that the contrary is the fact; notwithstanding the uncommon pains that have, for years, been taken to *quiet your alarms* on this score, and the pains not less extraordinary that have been taken to *excite your alarms* on another score. Acquired cunning has long been co-operating with native ignorance and impudence for the accomplishment of this combined object, which, if it be accomplished, will hardly be able to tell, to which of the three it is most indebted, seeing that I myself should, without great time for making the estimate, be very loath to say which, in my humble opinion, has been most conspicuous in this series of

efforts, lack of sincerity, lack of modesty, or lack of brains.

13. However, sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof; and, therefore, without looking further back than the bulky book before us, let us now see what this production contains. It contains, expressly or in substance, certain *assertions*. It will be of advantage to state, as briefly as may be, *all* these assertions, before I proceed to remark upon any one of them; and, that you may clearly see your fate, and begin by times to enjoy a foretaste of your ultimate degradation, I shall endeavour to separate the divers sorts of seed and grain and pulse, or, more properly speaking, the divers sorts of chaff and husks, that I here find mixed up together, and to place each sort in a parcel by itself.

14. Observe, the *tendency* of the Report, its direct tendency, the point of which it never loses sight, is, to persuade you, that, though Peel's Bill be not repealed, and though the interest of the Debt be not reduced, *you will not lose your estates*. In support of this there are divers statements and arguments amounting to certain *assertions*. Some of these are correct and many more erroneous. These assertions I shall first state; then make my remarks

on them, one by one, in regular order; and, by the time that I have done, you will, I think, *find your fortunes told to a hair*.

15. The *Report itself* I have published before, in the form of the Register. I have, in that publication, *numbered the paragraphs*, for the sake of *easy reference* when I came to write on it; as I now number the paragraphs of these Essays, or Letters. In stating the *assertions*, just alluded to, I shall put against each *figures* denoting the paragraphs of the Report, which, expressly or substantially, contain the Assertion against which the figures are placed. This will save a great deal of room and time which must otherwise be spent in *quotations*. The assertions are, then as follows:

- i. That the Farmers and Landlords are of a *manly character*, and a *most meritorious* class of the community. 5. 83.
- ii. That, at present prices, an arable farm can *yield no profit*, but must be productive of *loss*. 2.
- iii. That consumption and revenue have *not fallen off*. 3.
- iv. That the distress is not *so great* as has been imagined. 4, 5.
- v. That *abundant harvests* have contributed to the distress. 12, 13. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27. 34. 84.

VI. That *sudden transition* from war to peace is not yet over. 20.

VII. That *other nations* suffer in the *same way* that we do. 19, 20.

VIII. That distress of *this sort* is *nothing new* in our history. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

IX. That taxation *does something*, but *not much*, in creating this distress. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66.

X. That the interest of the Debt *ought not to be reduced*, and that the fundholders have *a right* to what they get. 85, 86, 87.

XI. That Peel's Bill *ought not to be repealed*. 87.

XII. That rents will not fall *so low* as some expect; that prices will not fall *so low* as some predict; that agriculture will *not decline*; that our *prosperity in war* has added to the *capital to feed agriculture with*; that things will *right themselves*; and that the landlords will be *as prosperous as before the late wars*. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. 54. 58. 87.

XIII. That the *ascendancy* of the Landed Interest, as *evinced by the practice of the Constitution*, is most beneficial to the country. 55.

16. Such are, in substance, the assertions of the Report. I have purposely omitted all that it says, *pro and con*, all its *pros and cons*,

about *Corn-Bills* I have omitted, as being wholly unworthy of the notice of any rational being. And, as to the "*evidence*," relating to *Corn-bills*, that is to say the opinions of farmers, landlords and corn-dealers upon this subject, I should no more think of commenting on them than on the chattering of so many pies. Leaving this shocking gibberish aside, let us proceed to examine these assertions one by one.

1. *That the Farmers and Landlords are of a MANLY CHARACTER, and a MOST MERITORIOUS class of the community.* 5. 83.

17. This would, at first sight, appear to be a mere instance of *coaxing*; a thing quite beneath a Committee of the House of Commons, to be sure, and unworthy of serious notice. Nevertheless, I cannot let it pass; for, I think it as little deserved as any praise that ever was bestowed in the world, not excepting that which, I, in my days of darkness, used to bestow upon "*Glory*." What, I should be glad to know, makes this the "*most meritorious class of the community?*" Have they greater merit than manufacturers, artisans, sailors, soldiers, or any other class? In what does their

peculiar and pre-eminent merit consist! This, therefore, is mere vulgar parlance; and unworthy of any document having an official character about it. It is familiar, common, low, unseemly, and if not absolutely mean, wholly destitute of propriety. And, as to the *manly* character of the Farmers and Landlords, where are we to look for a proof of that! Is it to be found in their *crying* petitions; or in any part of that conduct, which, by supporting the several sets of ministers, for forty years past, through thick and through thin, has been the principal cause of that long series of unwise, thoughtless, desperate, and, in many cases, unfeeling measures, which have at last produced this very distress of which these men complain! If other classes have been guilty of the same tame and dastardly acquiescence; even that does not justify this eulogium, which, as it was wholly uncalled for, wholly unsuited to the occasion, is also wholly unmerited by the facts of the case.

18. It is possible, but I am almost afraid to entertain a supposition that reflects so little credit on the writer of the Report; it is possible that this eulogium; this *manliness*, this *merit*, might

refer to the conduct of these persons as *armed men*! If this be the case I deny the thing in still more positive terms. Against *whom* did they arm! Was it against *the enemy*? Was it to fight in Spain or in Flanders; in Egypt or in Holland that they mounted their untaxed horses, and received out of taxes in great part paid by their labourers, from two to four hundred thousand pounds a year! In short, *who* did they ever fight with; *who* did they ever draw their swords upon; against *whom* did they ever defend any body, and if they did ever defend any body, *who* was it they defended! They have, in this their military capacity, occasioned the expenditure of *millions* of the public money; and have thus received and swallowed up, a part of the *loans*, which have so accumulated into that Debt, of the oppressive effects of which they now feel only a part of their share. I deny, therefore, that we possess any proofs of any particular *manliness* of character in them; and I am persuaded, that, taking them as a body, and allowing largely for honourable exceptions, they are the least, instead of the most, *meritorious* class of the community.

11. *That,*

II. *That, at present prices, an arable farm can yield no PROFIT, but must be productive of LOSS. 2.*

19. This is a very strange assertion to make! Upon the face of it, it cannot be true. But, I will take the very words of the Report here. The Committee state the proposition in the following words: "*That, at the present price of corn, the returns to the occupier of an arable farm, after allowing for the interest of his investment, are by no means adequate to the charges and outgoings; of which a considerable proportion can be paid only out of the capitals, and not from the profits, of the tenantry.*"

20. This is really very bad writing. There is an affectation of that mysterious technicality, which, in plain English, is neither more nor less than *slang*, and which is incomprehensible, without great trouble, to men of common understandings. It is difficult to know, indeed, precisely what the Committee do mean here. From the concluding part of the sentence, one would be led to suppose, that the *charges and outgoings* of a Farm ought to be paid out of the *profits* of the farmer; but, the *profits* consist of

that which *remains clear*, after all the outgoings of every description are satisfied. This, therefore, is a blundering description of the case; and the meaning is, as stated above, that an arable farm, at present prices of corn, yields no profit but is productive of a loss.

21. Even, however, with this explanation, the description here given by the Committee is very inadequate. The "*investment*," as it is here affectedly called, but, which, in better language, would be called, the *live and dead stock* of the farm, must bear an exact proportion to the price of corn and other produce; and, observe, the *rent* must bear that same proportion too, that is to say, if the farm be *now to be entered on*; and this we must infer is the case supposed; or else, it should have been stated, that, at the present price of corn, no profit could be made; and a loss must be sustained, with a *high priced stock* and with *high rents fixed some time back*. For, without this inference, or this qualification, the representation is not only manifestly untrue, but altogether ridiculous; seeing that it amounts to this: that, though the farm-stock and the rent be in proportion to the price of produce; and though

the farmer only bear along with the consumers, his share of tythes and taxes, he cannot farm to any profit, but must farm to a *loss*. Now, if this be the case with him, at this time, it must be the case with him at *all times*; and thus the statement becomes downright nonsense.

22. If I take a farm to-day, it matters nothing to me whether farm produce be high priced or low priced. If my fat sheep, when I have them, will sell for only twenty-five shillings a-piece, my lean stock of sheep that I have to buy will cost me only fifteen or sixteen shillings. If my best wheat will sell for only four shillings a bushel, four shillings a bushel is all that I have to give for my seed wheat. Thus, when my produce is low priced, there requires little to expend in that stock, which is here affectedly called my "*investment*." At whatever price I shall sell my produce, I feed and pay my labourers and keep my family till my crop comes in. My wagons, carts, harness, horses, in short, all my stock, and my rent too, all bears, and must bear, an exact and just proportion to the price of that which I shall produce upon the farm.

23. I am heart-sick, then, when

I hear the Committee talk of the price of corn being *too low* to pay me interest for my stock and to defray the outgoings of my farm. If a thing like this were possible, a farm would be *worth nothing*; a freehold estate would be a burden; chaos would be come again. Therefore, the Committee must mean, that the farmer *must lose*, if he be bound to a high rent, and if he have bought his stock in when it was at a high price. Yet, even in this case, the Committee would not be correct; and this brings me to speak of those payments which the tenants are here said to make out of their *capitals*. Several of the witnesses were asked about their *losses*. The greater part of them asserted that they had been *great losers* of late years; and upon being asked how they found the means to get along with all those losses, they said they made up their payments out of their capitals. They were not frequently asked how they came by those capitals; but some of them volunteered in observing, that they were *poorer* than they had been by *many thousands of pounds*. This was a great deal too much for a *farmer* to lose; and I do hope, that the times are coming when we shall hear of *no more such heavy losses*, sustained

by husbandmen, who have lately been perked up into "*Agriculturists*."

24. But, what were these same *capitals*, out of which the losses were made up, and which losses occasioned the complained of *poverty*? Why, when the thing comes to be inquired into, we find that the losses, of men who had any thing of their own, were merely imaginary. That it was not *loss*, in fact, but *cessation of enormous gain*. We find that the loss was on the *stock*; not that there was *less stock*; less horses, less cows, less sheep, less wheat, less hogs, or less any thing else, but that these were *estimated at a less amount* by these same losers. Mr. WM. LOTT, for instance, of Milton near Blandford in Dorsetshire, who presented to the Committee, ruled and figured accounts, which, in small print, fill *ten and a half folio pages*, and which are surpassed by nothing except those masses of figures which go annually from the Houses of Parliament to the trunk-makers; this WM. LOTT; this jewel of all bull-frog farmers, had been a *great loser*. Being asked at what period his losses commenced, he said from about 1814. Then followed this: "Can you at all estimate what your aggregate loss

"has been?"--Answer: "I think, in the year 1813 I could have retired with ten thousand pounds, or from that to *twelve thousand pounds*; and now I should think, not more than half the sum, or, at least, not two-thirds."—

QUESTION: "This loss has occurred on your own farm?"—

ANSWER: "Yes; and in the *diminution of the value of stock*!"

25. Here we have it. This is very nearly what they all said, under one form of words or another form of words. They were *poorer*, they said, because their stock, if valued now, would not amount to so much nominally, as it would have amounted to, if it had been valued five or six years ago.

26. Now, if one can speak comfort to such disconsolate persons, does not Christian charity demand a performance of the duty? Mr. WM. LOTT, will you not forgive me for all that I have said about bull-frog farmers, and will you not say, that the Radicals, to keep whom down, I dare say, you have an untaxed horse, a sharp sword and a well-loaded pistol; will you not say, that, after all, the Radicals, though everlastingly guilty of "*sedition*" and "*blasphemy*," are not such bad sort of fellows, if I who am deemed

the prime apostle of Radicalism, can console you, can heal that wounded heart of yours, by convincing you that, you are just as rich as you were before 1814; and that the eight thousand pounds which you confess your stock and capital are now worth; that those eight thousand pounds are just as good, if not better, than the twelve thousand pounds which you think you possessed in 1813!

27. Mr. Wm. LOTT, the most disconsolate of all disconsolate farmers, listen for one moment, and I will give peace to your distressed soul. You have, I dare say, many scores of pretty long-tailed ewes. Now, if one of those ewes will sell for thirty shillings at Apple-Shaw Fair; and if those thirty shillings will purchase as many and as good stockings for your wife, as forty five or fifty shillings would have purchased for her in 1813; and if the thirty shillings will go as far now in the purchase of all the necessaries, conveniences and elegancies of life, as forty five or fifty shillings would have gone in 1813; if the thirty shillings will now buy as much malt and hops, and even as much land (equal in quality) as the forty five or fifty shillings would have brought in 1813: if this be the case, are not the thirty

shillings of this day *as good* as the forty five or fifty shillings were in 1813! You will take a moment to think; you will turn your head on one side; you may, perhaps, blush a little at your folly; but you will not have the grace to leave off calumniating the Radicals; much less will you think of sending me a score of ewes as an atonement for your sins of political hostility and Agriculture-Ass ignorance.

28. Thus, then, this is a very gross error which the Committee have adopted. They have proceeded upon the notions of these vulgar men, who had nothing but the *money price* of their stock in their eye, and who wholly left out of view the powers of *exchange against commodities*, possessed by that stock. An ox is an ox; and is he not of the same *real value* now that he was four or five years ago? What signifies it whether you call him *fifty pound ox* or *twenty pound ox*, so that he still be of the same age, and has still the same weight? Thus it is with regard to every kind of stock; and the change in prices makes not the smallest difference in the real value of the *property* of the farmer.

29. If, indeed, the farmer be in *Debt*, when the low prices come;

if he be bound to a *high nominal rent*; then the low prices operate against him; for then he has to give a larger quantity of his produce than he expected to give, and than he contracted to give, in payment of such debt and such rent. He must go on hastily to his ruin, if the rent be very great in proportion to his means; or if the rent be on the scale of very high prices, and of long future duration.

30. This, however, was a view of the matter which the Committee do not appear to have been disposed to take, and for reasons which one may, perhaps, be permitted to conjecture. To have laid down the distinction between a farmer *in debt* and a farmer *not in debt*; between a farmer *now entering on a farm* and a farmer already bound by contract of some *years date*: to have laid down this distinction would have been at once to open the sores, the deadly though disguised wounds, *inflicted by the paper money system*. This was a thing not to be done at any time, and particularly when "the *healing hand of time*" was, in the close of the Report, intended to be so pathetically invoked.

31. If the report had said, that, *under no circumstances*, the farmer could *gain so much now as in*

times of high prices, the statement would have been correct enough; because, as I shall have most amply to prove hereafter from the evidence itself, the principal part of what the farmer gained before, the system of paper-money enabled him to squeeze out of the flesh and blood and bones of the labourer; but to say that a farmer must now *necessarily lose*, is to say that which upon the very face of it is, to the last degree, absurd and perfectly monstrous; for, if the fact were such, nobody would rent a farm, and the lands must be thrown up for a scramble. Scramble, did I say? Why should people scramble for that which would be *good for nothing* when they have got it? Why prosecute poor SPENCEANS? They were accused, and so were the Reformers, too, most falsely and most maliciously, to be sure; but no matter for that, the *accusation* against them extended no further, than that they aimed at a *division of the lands*, declaring the lands to be "*the people's farm*." To what tremendous uses were these harmless though wild expressions turned! How were they trumpeted forth! What *alarm* were they made to spread! How many thousands of riders did they bring forth capering upon

untaxed horses! And, now, here we have a Committee of that very Parliament, who enabled the Ministers to commit the Spencéans to the *Tower*, upon suspicion of *High Treason*; we have a Committee of that very legislative body, presenting to it a Report that sets out with a proposition, which, twist it and turn it how you will, declares the lands of England incapable of being cultivated, *except at a loss to the cultivator*; that is to say, declares those lands to be *good for nothing*!

32. In the next LETTER I shall proceed with the rest of the propositions, or *assertions*. I have numbered the paragraphs of this letter, in order that I may, as I proceed, refer to them with facility. It is my intention to make these Letters form a part of each succeeding Register (unless something arise which demand *immediate attention*,) till I come to the close of the subject. I shall, for the future, have the *Essays* of the Register *stereotyped*, that they may never, hereafter, be *out of print*; and, when this series of LETTERS is concluded, I intend to have *them* bound in a volume by themselves, so that they may form a distinct work, and may be had without encumbering the purcha-

ser with other matter that he may not want.

WM. COBBETT.

N. B. The whole of the *Report*, price *one shilling* (same form as the Register,) is published at the Register-Office.

TO

FRIEND CROPPER.

Worth, 1 Sept. 1821.

In my next I shall address thee in the way of comment on the Letter, which thou hast made Egerton Smith publish for thee, under the false name of VERITAS; for, friend Cropper, thou art not to be allowed to skulk behind a *screen* in this way. Thou hast *my name*; thou hast me uncovered before thee; and thou must not be permitted to wear a *case*, in addition to thy *native mask*. In short, friend Cropper, thou art this "*Veritas*," as I shall clearly shew, when I come to dish thee up and to garnish thee as thou deservest.

In the mean time, friend Cropper, thou wilt have the goodness to bear in mind, that, though thou talkest so much against *abuse* and *calumny*, it is thou who art the great calumniator and utterer of abuse. What had the *West India Planters* done to be accused of

carrying on "an infamous traf-
" *sick*?" This was not only a foul,
but a false and most malignant
charge. You talk of *my* well
knowing this and well knowing
that; but, did not *you know*, that
to carry on the *slave trade* in the
English West Indies was against
law; that heavy *penalties* were
attached to every attempt of the
kind; and that no proof, and no
charge, existed, tending to shew
that there had been a violation of
that law? All this you knew, and
knowing all this, you come forth,
and in print too, and in a letter
to that prime Saint, *Wilberforce*,
endeavour to cause the people to
believe, that the West-India
Planters were still carrying on
the *Slave Trade*, which you deno-
minate "an infamous traffick,"
though it would, if still carried on,
be not *more* infamous than that
carried on by the *Quakers*, who,
though constantly under the guid-
ance of "*the Spirit*," carried on
the Slave-Trade for more than
three fourths of a century in Penn-
sylvania.

Thus, then, it is *you* who are, in
this case at any rate, the great
abuser and *calumniator*. And,
observe, you are the *aggressor*.
You *began* this war of words. I
know, that the Quaker-maxim is,
that "it is the *second* blow that

"makes the *battle*;" which means,
I suppose, that they, in their right
of Saints, may attack whomsoever
they please, and that nobody is
to oppose any *defence* against
those attacks. You pretend, that
my answering your attacks on the
West India Planters arose out of
a private grudge of mine against
that sly and shuffling old dog,
Isaac Wright, a grudge that is
nearly of two year's standing, and
that has never called forth a word
from me before; but, your lies
about this matter I shall fully no-
tice in my next, and shall shew
what a pretty nest of tools of
tyranny you all are. But, what
motive could I want, in answering
you, other than a real *public mo-
tive*? Are not the evils brought
upon this country, the everlasting
Debt and *disgrace*, brought upon
us by the *East Indies*, quite suf-
ficient to rouse any man that is
able to make his voice heard? And,
when I saw you endeavouring
to excite a public prejudice
against *really valuable colonies*
and in favour of that scene of
plunder, waste, and war, the *East
Indies*; when I saw, that you were
using that *affected simplicity* and
mock meekness, *humanity* and *sanc-
tity*, which, though the scorn of
men of experience in the world,
imposes on the mass of mankind;

when I saw these used ; when I saw these played off by "*friend*" Cropper through the name of "*respected friend Wilberforce*," and when I saw your slave, Egerton Smith, trumpeting forth your malignant attack on the West Indians as the production of his "*respectable townsman*," and thus adopting and giving a good character to your calumny ; when I saw all this, did I want a private grudge against a shuffling, lying old fellow at New York, to induce me to detect and expose your falsehoods, and to pull off the broad brim under the cover of which they were likely to impose upon the country ?

It is the pulling off of this broad brim that *nettles* you ; but, if you already feel the pricking of your sins, what will you feel before I have *done* with you ? And, as to the *sect*, why, they must submit to the law of civil society, and, indeed, the law of nations and of nature, which say, that the *body*, and especially a *select body*, shall *suffer for the misdeeds of its members*.

I am

Thy "*assured friend*,"

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. In order to do this thing *well* ; in order to lay you and your cunning *sect quite bare*, I shall, for one week, suspend my *Letters to Landlords*, which is making a great sacrifice.

THE INQUESTS

ON THE MEN MURDERED ON THE

14th OF AUGUST.

These Inquests appear not to have terminated even yet ; and, therefore, one can say nothing very decisive about them. On Sunday, the 26th of August, the two murdered men were buried at Hammersmith ; and were followed to the grave by an innumerable multitude of people. It was very proper to give these men a public Funeral, and to carry their bodies from the spot where they were killed, along the very road as nearly as possible that the body of the Queen had been carried, and to deposit them in the earth as nearly as possible to the spot where the Queen had died. During the procession on this occasion there arose another fight between the King's Soldiers and his subjects. I shall have to say some little matter about this by and by ; but I shall first insert a letter from Mr. WAITHMAN, the Sheriff, to Lord BATHURST, who fills that new and extraordinary office called the *War Secretaryship of State*. It was this gentleman, the reader will bear in mind, under whose immediate controul, NAPOLEON

was kept. The letter of the Sheriff is as follows :

MY LORD,

I consider it my duty to apprise his Majesty's Government, through your Lordship, of a violent outrage of the public peace committed by some individuals of the Life Guards at Knightsbridge yesterday, and of an attempt as assassination upon me personally, while in the exercise of my duty as Sheriff of Middlesex, as the head of the civil power of the county.

Your Lordship thought proper to direct the Lord Mayor on Saturday to take the necessary measures to preserve the peace of the city during the intended funeral of Honey and Francis; and although no such caution was addressed to the sheriff, as conservator of the public peace of the county, I felt it my duty to direct the deputy sheriffs of the city and county to order out the constables of the divisions nearest to, and through which the funeral was expected to pass; and also to attend in person with proper officers, to prevent or quell any tumult or disorder.

Conceiving that, under the existing irritation of the people, and the circumstances for which they had assembled, some insult might be offered to the Life Guards in their barracks, I disposed of the constables chiefly in that vicinity, and actually ranged a body of them in front of the barracks, with instructions to apprehend every individual who should attempt to commit any act of outrage or disorder.

The funeral, in consequence of these

precautions, passed the barracks in an orderly and quiet manner, marked by no other peculiar circumstance than that of a brick being thrown from the barracks, which fell near my horse, and wounded, as I am informed, a young girl. My admonitions, and the presence of the constables, succeeded, however, in repressing the irritation this wanton act was calculated to excite.

When the procession had passed, and while the road continued to be crowded with people, the gates of the barracks were thrown open, and the avenues filled with the soldiers. The people, as might have been foreseen, gathered round the spot, and expressed their displeasure. A tumult seemed inevitable. I requested to speak with the officer on duty, but without effect; and at length, by repeated expostulations with the soldiers, I succeeded in prevailing upon them to retire and close the gates.

Some time after, upon returning to the same spot, I saw a number of soldiers running from the wicket gate, and pursuing the people on the causeway. Finding an affray actually commenced, I sprung my horse upon the causeway, interposed between the parties, and succeeded in separating them. While thus engaged, a soldier, with whom I had before been expostulating, and who was therefore acquainted with my official station, started forward at a man and knocked him down. At the same time, while using my utmost endeavours to prevail upon the soldiers to retire into the barracks, and the people to desist and

keep the peace, the bridle of my horse was violently seized, on the one side by a young officer in undress, and on the other by the soldier whose violence I had just noticed, who together endeavoured to throw my horse over the causeway; and I only succeeded in extricating myself by striking the soldier with my stick, and making my horse plunge. Immediately several of the soldiers rushed at me with their swords drawn, and one actually loaded his carbine, and directed it towards me, but was, as I have been informed, knocked down by one of the constables. Further mischief was prevented by the interposition of some military officers of higher authority, and the soldiers at length retired into their barracks.

My Lord, these circumstances require no comment. At a critical conjuncture the soldiers were left to their own exasperated feeling, and manifested a lawless spirit. The civil power under my direction was fully adequate for the preservation of the peace among the people, but not to encounter an armed soldiery. I had no communication from his Majesty's government, nor could I obtain an interview with any of the officers of the regiment; and when I directed some of the constables to represent to the officers in the most respectful terms, my desire that the soldiers should be kept within the barracks, the message returned was, 'That the Sheriff might be d—d, they would not make their men prisoners for him;' and I feel assured, that had I not interposed with the civil power, and

even risked my own life, a frightful slaughter must have ensued. Of subordination to civil authority the soldiery appeared to be wholly unconscious, and that authority, in my person, was repeatedly insulted and grossly outraged.

It would, my Lord, be as needless as presumptuous in me, to attempt to instruct your Lordship and his Majesty's Government in the nature of the constitutional authority under which I attended yesterday, or the right I possessed in my official character to have claimed the aid and assistance of those very military to suppress tumult, who have, upon this occasion, in open defiance of the civil authority, been the promoters of it; nor need I add one word in aggravation of the enormity of the offences committed: the offenders can, some of them, be identified, and I trust your Lordship will cause immediate and effectual means to be adopted to bring them to justice, as a salutary example to others. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

obedient humble Servant,

Bridge-street, Aug. 27, 1821. R. WAITHMAN.
The Rt. Hon. Earl Bathurst,
&c. &c.

I do not perceive any *answer* to this letter. The Courier newspaper complains of Mr. WAITHMAN's causing it to be *printed*; but the printing, was, under the particular circumstances of the case, absolutely necessary to effect

the ends of as much justice as was likely to be obtained. Indeed, the conduct of Mr. WAITHMAN, through the whole of this business appears to have been marked with propriety not less than with public spirit and courage. If the Sheriff of a County be not a proper person to stand prominently forward upon such occasions; then, I beg that we may never again hear of the high respectability of this office, and of the propriety of investing it, with those great powers, which it is well known to have. When these same writers, who are now speaking of Mr. WAITHMAN as a sort of impertinent intruder; when these same persons are talking of County Sheriffs, who are selected by the King; then the Sheriff is *every thing*! He can refuse to call County Meetings, though fifty Lords and Baronets apply to him for the purpose; and these writers say that it is *fitting* that he should be intrusted with this absolute power. But, when the Sheriff, as in the present case, comes forward and endeavours to use his authority, for the *protection of the lives of the people*; then, he is an insignificant creature, and an impertinent intruder; and is represented as a person quite beneath *Henson*, the Attorney, or *Adolphus*, the Barris-

ter and writer of fulsome nauseous flattery of the Court, under the name of History, stuff that would disgrace the pen of any pert and illiterate cub of sixteen. This *Henson*, the Attorney, is the father-in-law of that *Lord Portsmouth* between whom, and his brother Mr. FELLOWES, there was a suit in *Chancery* some time ago, relating to the marriage of the Lord with the daughter of this *Henson*, who was, at the time of this marriage, an Attorney in Hampshire, or in some County to the West, and who is now, I believe, *Attorney to the Stamp Office*, or something of that kind. The public will, therefore, easily judge of the decency, to say nothing of the propriety, of setting men like these up as of superior authority to the Sheriff of a County.

If I had been in Mr. WAITHMAN'S place I should have exercised my authority in a very different way from what he did. The Sheriff, within the bounds of his County, seeing a disturbance of the public peace, no matter from what cause, or with whom originating, can instantly call forth his *posse*; that is to say, can order all persons to *aid and assist him, with arms or without arms*, until he has accomplished the purpose of re-establishing the peace. There

is no police Magistrate that can supersede or interfere with the exercise of this authority; nor is there any description of persons that are exempted from it, whether civil or military.

It is not my intention, at present, to enlarge upon this subject; but I cannot help observing upon one monstrous notion, which seems to have found its way into the heads of Corruption's writers, and, which, indeed, seems to have been adopted by no small number of persons; and that is, that *when the riot-act has been read*, it is lawful for Soldiers to be brought to kill the people, and that such killing is *not murder*! This, people imagine or seem to imagine is law, according to the riot-act, as it is generally called.

This riot-act is one of the many terrible laws which this country owes to the Whigs. It was passed by the same parliament, and about the same time, that passed the *Septennial Act*. Yes, that parliament, which, having been chosen to sit for *three years*, passed a law to enable *themselves to sit for seven years*, and all future parliaments to sit for the same length of time; that very Whig parliament, that did this thing, and that thus paved the way for that parliamentary system, under which

we now live, and which is as "*notorious as the Sun at noon-day*;" that very Whig parliament passed the *riot-act*.

But, not to do injustice even to that parliament, it neither enacted, nor had in contemplation, the use of Soldiers to enforce the provisions of the Act. The Act is this, that, when a Magistrate shall see a body of persons tumultuously assembled for an **UNLAWFUL PURPOSE**, he shall be empowered to read a short proclamation (the words of which are inserted in the Act,) commanding the persons so assembled to disperse; and the Act provides that any who do not go away from the spot by the end of an **HOUR** after such proclamation shall have been read by a justice of the peace, shall be considered as having committed **FELONY**.

It must be acknowledged that this is a most terrible law. To punish men with death for doing nothing but merely not dispersing, when possibly they may not have heard a word of the Proclamation is something most terribly severe. Such a law was passed in England once before, in the reign of bloody Queen **MARY**; but that law had been repealed many years, when this new law was passed by the Whigs. However,

this law neither says nor contemplates any thing about *Soldiers*; any thing about *killing*; while, according to the language of Corruption's Press, one would suppose that any Justice of the Peace; even any paid police Magistrate, may go at the head of a squadron of Dragoons, up to a multitude of people; take the forty or fifty words of the Proclamation out of his pocket; read them instantly, order the Soldiers to chop and shoot the people; and that he has only to prove that he read these few words *before the chopping and shooting began*, in order to *cause all the parties to be innocent of the crime of wilful murder!*

Was there ever any thing in the world heard of so monstrous as this! And, yet the notion outrageous against common sense and common feeling as it is, appears to be very prevalent; for, I observed in the trials relative to the Manchester affair, and even during these inquests, the question often put has been, "*did the Soldiers fire before the riot act was read?*" What has that to do with the matter? It is not the *riot-Act* that is read: it is, as I said before, a short Proclamation inserted in the riot-act. I write from memory; but the Proclama-

tion is somewhat in these words: "Our Sovereign Lord the King commands all persons here present to disperse and go to their own homes upon pain of being deemed felons and suffering death accordingly." The words are, doubtless, somewhat different; but this is the meaning, and this is about the length of the Proclamation. So that neither the Proclamation nor the law says any thing about Soldiers; any thing about being sabred or shot; but all proceeds upon the presumption that men are to be brought to trial if they obstinately persist in disobeying this lawful command, and in rejecting this salutary warning. To have passed a law such as that which the corrupt Press seems to regard as being in existence, would have been at once to make the country subject to martial law; for, where would be the difference whether the word of command were given by a Colonel or by a Justice of the Peace?

And, now, let us just for a moment think of the picture which the kingdom exhibits at this moment. The Queen going into a Sepulchre in Brunswick; the King stunned with the acclamations and surfeited with the nauseous flatteries of the Irish; while

in the Metropolis of England there is something little short of open war between the King's Soldiers and his subjects, arising in the first place from an order of his Ministers to carry the dead body of his Queen over Kensington gravel pits and round the outskirts of his Metropolis!

This is the figure we make in the eyes of the world! Caroline of Brunswick, thy spirit is mighty still; and, perhaps, the youngest subject of your husband will as long as he lives feel the effects, good effects I hope and trust, of thy unparalleled sufferings and melancholy fall!

RESURRECTION MAN.

THIS is a name, which base reptiles, high as well as low, have endeavoured to cast on *me*. Some *Lords* (never wiser than other people) have joined in the cry, and have, too, uttered their stuff upon the subject in places where they ought to have felt too much respect for themselves to condescend to be the imitators of such men as

Stewart (Sir James Macintosh's brother-in-law) and that indescribably base creature, who, in the conducting of the *TIMES* newspaper, takes shelter (filthy beast!) under the petticoats of two women! Let all these, then, take the following from the *Liverpool Mercury* of the 24th of August.

“ [From the *New York National Advocate*, of July 25.]

“ The Duke of York, in compliance with the suggestion of the British Consul of this city, has ordered him to cause the remains of the late Major André to be disinterred, and sent in a ship of war to England, to be buried in Westminster Abbey.”

Well, then, if this be true, all the difference between me and the DUKE of YORK is, that I bring home the bones of an Englishman, *fumed throughout the world for his talents and writings, and who died a natural death*; and that the Duke brings home the bones of one *who was hanged as a spie*.

That is all the difference. We are both "*bone-men*," both "*grave-robbers*," both "*resurrection-men*," if either of us is. The only difference (and that, indeed, is a very great one) is found in the *character and deeds* of the original owners of the bones. The Duke has *his taste* and I have *mine*. However, the Americans too are "*resurrection-men*;" for they, in 1818, dug up the bones, (or what they called the bones) of *General Montgomery* at Quebec, and brought them and buried them in grand pomp at New York. This, to be sure, was not a *spie*; but what was he compared to *MR. PAINE*! But, who *knows* that these will be the bones of this *André*, when they come? *Where* was he buried? Depend on it in the "*Potter's Field*" of New York, and not *in the jail*, as some have been in another country: The Americans tried him, found him guilty, and *hanged him*. Of course, as they refused him the honour of a soldier's death, they put his body into the common bu-

rial-ground. Now, this is called the "*Potter's Field*." It is a piece of ground of about *six or seven acres*, as nearly as I can recollect. Here all the blacks, mulattoes, paupers, stragglers, and all, in short, who do not *pay* to some religious congregation, are buried. The place is a mere *field*, and, in a very short time, the elevation made by a grave is wholly gone. Cattle trample the ground about, so that no mark remains, or can remain. All the people that are *hanged*, all that *die in jails*, all the *dogs* seized and *killed by the constables*, amounting to hundreds in a year, are buried in this place. There is a *continual digging* of graves in the level spots; so that the spot, where this *André* was put in may have been *dug up several times* in the space of the *forty years*, and a couple or three black fellows may have mixed their bones with his. *Bones*, indeed! What *bones* can there be at the end of *forty years*! Buried, I dare say, in a *deal-coffin* (if in *any*,) coffin, bones and all,

must have been *earth* long and long ago!

The bright thought of bringing home the "*bones*" of this André originated, it seems, with that bright gentleman, CASTLEREAGH'S Consul at New York, who is an Irishman named JAMES BUCHANAN, and who, I dare say, had full as much merit to recommend him, and of the *same sort* too, as Castlereagh's Consuls are well known generally to have; and I should be glad to know, from any Irishman who knew this Buchanan formerly, *who* and *what* he was. We might, then, probably come at the *reason* why this Buchanan was so desirous to do honour to the "*bones*" of this André!

Hoping, after all, that this paragraph is *a lie*, and that no such thing is to be attempted, I do also hope, that, if the thing be true, and that if the "*bones*," or dirt, or whatever it is, be brought to England, there will be a *grand public funeral*, that the *whole of the fraternity* will attend, that we shall

have a *funeral oration* over the deceased; and, if it were not to be too presumptuous, I would beg leave to point out Mr. BROUGHAM as the deliverer of this *oration*, which might afterwards come into the lesson-books of his *parish schools*, intended to "*instil morality* in the minds of the *rising generation*!"

As to the "*bones*" of Mr. PAINE, they shall have *really* honourable burial and monument. There must be suitable preparation for this. The "*healing hand of time*" is working for *his* memory. *His memory* is in the care of the wise, the just and the generous part of mankind: his bones are in *my* care; and, in due time, they shall be deposited in a place and in a manner that are suitable to the mind that once animated the body and set these bones in motion. If I should die before this be accomplished, those will be alive that will perform this sacred duty in *my* stead.

TO

MONEY-HOARDERS.

A Correspondent, under the name of "*Common Sense*" is perfectly right. He has sold out his stock and has got his four thousand pounds in gold. Let him keep it for a year; or, at least, till the next session of parliament is over. He will lose no interest he may be assured, in the end. He may now buy land that will, at any rate, yield him $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and is not that better than 5 per cent. with no other security than what the funds present? Does he, or does any other mortal, imagine, that the Landlords, when they see the loss of their estates clearly coming on, will yield without a struggle? And, does he not see, in that struggle, the sure and certain fall of the funds, let the result be what it may? Let him look at the following prices of

sheep, at the late *Norwich fair*. This is a great mart for *Lambs*; that is to say, sheep nearly a year old perhaps; or, at least, nine months old. Norfolk is a great county for fattening sheep as well as for breeding them; and the prices of this fair have usually been higher for Lambs than that of any other in the kingdom. But, it is the relative price that we have to look at. That is to say, the price of this compared with that of last year. There are four sorts of sheep. *South-Downs*, *Half-South-Downs*, *Half-Leicester*, and *Norfolk*.—The account (in the *Norwich Mercury* of Sept. 1.) states the prices of the two years for *Wether-Lambs* and also for *Ewe-Lambs*. The wethers will suffice for my readers, the proportion being all that we want to come at. The account mentions many of the flock-owners by name, and puts against the names the prices of their Lambs, as those sold at the fair, distinguishing the prices of 1820 from those of 1821. Now, then, let us see how these stand.

SOUTH-DOWNS.

	1820.	1821.
	<i>Shillings.</i>	<i>Shillings.</i>
Duke Grafton.....	26	14
M. Cornwallis	25	11
Earl Bristol	23	14
Mr. Lugar	28	16
Mr. Shillito.....	29	16
Mr. Garnham	27	14
Mr. Payne	22	11
Adm. Wilson	26	13

HALF-SOUTH-DOWNS.

Mr. Catlin	24	14
Mr. Cooper	27	12
Mr. Corsbie	25	12

HALF-LEICESTER.

Mr. Palmer	25	12
Mr. Nurse	26	13

NORFOLK.

Mr. Boughton	21	12
Mr. Gwilt	21	10

I have left out the *parts of a shilling*, which makes some little difference that operates against the sales of 1821; but, even if you add a whole shilling to the price of 1821, it does not much exceed the *half* of 1820; and *that* did not, I believe, much exceed *two thirds* of the price of

four or five years ago! What does "the *Oracle*," Mr. Brougham's *Oracle*, Perry's *Oracle*, Wilberforce's *Oracle*, the Collective Wisdom's *Oracle*; what does *the Oracle* mean, then, by saying, that the Bill of far-famed Peel could produce a fall of prices of *only about 4½ per cent*? The Committee of the Collective Wisdom have ascribed part of the *distress to abundant crops of corn*; what, then, have there been *abundant crops of Lambs too*? Eh! Poh! This is all rubbish: but, I am anticipating here, and must stop.

Now, then, *Hoarders*, do, I pray you, look at this matter. I do not know the *bulk* of Norwich fair. At that of *Weyhill* there are frequently a *million* head of sheep sold. Suppose a *fifth* of the number at Norwich. Here is the sum of a *hundred thousand pounds* less for the farmers to carry home this year than they carried home *even last year*, and *last year*, observe, they were preparing their petitions about *agricultural dis-*

distress! If it were distress then, what is it now?

Oh, o! You will see whether the *Landlords* will continue, in *silence*, to give the *Fundlords* *three Lambs for one!* You will see whether they will be convinced by the *Oracle* and by *Mr. Mus-hett's Tables*, that one Lamb is three and that three Lambs are one. But, mind, there is to be a *wonderous change*; for, with what face can they take a farthing from the *Fundlord*, while they suffer the *Judges*, the *Police-men*, the *Pensioners*, the *Grantees*, and all the swarms of *Place-men* and *Staff-men* to receive *three Lambs for one!* If the "*Greatest Captain of the Age*," for instance, be still to receive the many thousands a year, that were settled on him when Lambs sold at 30s. which now sell at 10s. can any one believe, that the widow or orphan whose income is derived from the funds, is to see that income reduced?

So, you see, here is a good

deal of work to do! If LORD

FOLKESTONE had not thought my petition of 1818 "*too long*" to be presented to Mr. Perry's "*Collective Wisdom*," that Wisdom would have had on its table a clear *forewarning* of what is now come. Nay, it has it in the Petition of the Reformers, *signed on Ports-down-Hill*, in 1817, and presented by the gallant, honest, and persecuted LORD COCHRANE, who will yet see all his enemies, secret as well as open (and "*Glory*" amongst the rest,) put to shame.

Grant the **PRAYER OF THAT PETITION**; let them do that, and all is right, tight and safe. But, to grant it demands justice, confession of error, great wisdom and self-denial. To hope that these will unite and vigorously operate, even *in the end*, is not warranted by the past; but to hope to see this *all at once* is what no man that knows the parties can. Therefore, there will be, and there must be, a *struggle*.

And, mind you, Hoarders, that

struggle will teach you *what to do with your money!*

I am your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

N.B. My next shall contain an address to those who have money held in the funds against their will.

BARE BRASS.

Conduct of the most scandalous kind, is practised against me, in *Dublin*, by a man of the name of M. STAUNTON, in a paper, which he calls the "*Dublin Weekly Register*," and, in which he has the brass to announce, that "ALL *Mr. Cobbett's Political Writings* are regularly published in this *Journal*." One would think, at reading this, that the Irish had recently had conferred on them the right of plundering us with impunity. But, I shall, if this man persevere, try a little, whether the protection, which the *law* says I have, have not something *real* in it. Can any man read such a

notice as this without feeling indignation? What! Notify openly, that you will publish *all* a man's writings (for *all* the Register is *political*) without any leave obtained even, not to say without any sort of *payment*! What! is it just, that one man is thus to seize on, and appropriate to his own use, the property of another! However, the thing is too outrageous to be *reasoned* about. There is *law*, and I will put it in force. "Ah!" will this man say, "What, you think about *gain*, do you!" *Gain!* you brazen fellow, why I must eat, must I not, as well as Doctors, Lawyers and Parsons? Go and take a bundle of linen from a shop, and see what the owner will do to you. And is not my Register my property as much as the linen is his? Besides, do not you republish for *gain*? Do not you *sell* my writings? Do not you get food and raiment out of me? Yes, and you sell my writings too in company with your own silly and nauseous rubbish. If *public utility* were your object,

extracts, publishing parts, would have satisfied you ; but you take entire *Essays*, date, name, every thing ; and, you leave the world to believe, that you have *my authority* for doing this, and that I am in a sort of *partnership* with you ! Verily this is the most brazen thing that ever was heard of, and it would, I am persuaded, have been attempted in no country on earth, except that, in which *not a knell has been tolled for the injured Queen*. This is "*Irish warm-heartedness* ;" this is "*Irish hospitality* ;" this is "*Irish generosity* ;" is it ? Give me one single whisper, or one single tear, of *sincerity*, and take all your noisy and blubbering bombast as an offering *to the Devil* !—There, Mr. STAUNTON, as you publish all my political writings, and as this is certainly political, *publish this article*, and I'll forgive you *for the past*.—I do know *some* Irishmen *so very good*, *so truly sincere*, *so constant in friendship*, that I must conclude that there are great numbers of the same description. I

am glad I do know these *some* ; or, I should, from what I now see and hear, be disposed to say, may the whole nation never know sway or friendship other than those of that worthy pair, *Castlereagh* and *Sidmouth*, whom they are now huzzaing, hugging, and slobbering.—BELFAST is a most *honourable exception*. This town is the LOT of Ireland !

TO

MR. JAMES P. COBBETT,

AT NEW YORK.

Kensington, 4 Sept. 1821.

MY DEAR JAMES,

I beg you to write me word relative to the *place* where they dig, or have dug, for the *bones* of *André* ; and how the thing was *transacted* altogether ; *who were chief actors* and *mourners* ; what *ship* the bones were put into ; what the Captain's name was, and all the particulars. The news-papers say, the *Duke of York* has sent for these *bones* at the suggestion of Castlereagh's Consul, *Buchan-*

non. So, you see, that you have, in the resurrection way, imitators in *high life*! The bones, indeed, that you *raised*, did not ever belong to a body that had the merit of having been *hanged* as that of a *spie*; and, therefore, your "*betters*" may say, that they *do not* tread exactly in your steps. But, they are "*resurrection men*," as much as you, at any rate. You differ from each other, only as to the *objects of your admiration*. You are both "*disturbers of the grave*," and, as that vile hypocrite BINNS, called it, "*invading the sacredness of the tomb*, and, "*with sacrilegious hands, raking up the ashes of the dead*." Console yourself, my dear James; for the Congress, or President, had caused the same thing to be done, in the case of General Montgomery; and though, this being the act of republicans, you might have doubts of it as an authority; yet, now that you see our own *moral* government, acting, too, by the agency of one of the *Royal Family*, and, to remove all

doubt, that personage, the *Duke of York himself*! Oh! bless me you can no longer have the smallest weight upon your conscience, whatever the *Jew* at New York and old Maidstone Monk, BINNS, may say of your deed.

You will be glad to hear, that LORD COCHRANE was well in *April last*, and that your cousin HARRY commanded a ship under him, the *ESMERALDA*, of *forty-four* guns, a circumstance which I should not have mentioned here, if the London newspapers, which smelt out, I suppose, that he was a *relation of mine*, had not put him into a vessel of *eight* guns. I was always against Harry's going into the service of *the system*; when out of it I advised him never to touch it again. He has now done well; and if he lose his life, it is much better than to drag out one of dependence. My letters say, that they were about to attack *Lima*, and that they expected it to be soon in their hands.

I have never yet told the story of the conduct of that old dog,

ISAAC WRIGHT; but, one CROPPER, the *worthy* correspondent of Isaac, who has been publishing some very mischievous lies and cant at Liverpool, in co-operation with that dirty slave, Egerton Smith, has now induced me to resolve to take the trouble to bring out Isaac, which I shall do next week. Our friends exclaimed against the *conduct*, but they *did not disown the man that was guilty of it*, while they *disown* men for things not a thousandth part so base or so wicked. If, therefore, they experience any annoyance upon this occasion, let them take the blame to themselves. They had the power to do me justice by *disowning Isaac*. They did not do me justice; they know well, that a scabby sheep infects the flock; they keep the scabby sheep, and I am fully justified in treating the whole flock as scabby. By showing what ISAAC WRIGHT did to me, I show what sort of men the Quakers keep in their holy communion of the Spirit; and the world will easily judge of the cha-

racter of that communion. They cannot plead *ignorance*: the thing was *notorious*; and, if they wanted minute *proof*, you and others were at hand to give it.

The harvest here is very *abundant*, though *backward*, a thing that I never knew before. The weather has been very *ticklish* hitherto; but, it is now fair, and, if it remain such for a few days the *wheat* will all be housed, and wheat will sell before Christmas for *four shillings* a bushel! Lambs that used to sell at the fairs for 30 shillings now sell for 10s. You know what all this leads to! Those that used to be ready to cut my throat for writing, now read what I write. Not that they are not quite as ready to *cut my throat* as before; but, still *they read*. You, my dear James, were with LORD COCHRANE and me at PORTSDOWN, when the petition was signed, in February, 1817. Read that petition *now*! Then look at the *situation of this kingdom*! And, then, I trust, you will think nothing of all the losses, all the sufferings,

that we have endured in consequence of acts of the same character with that petition.

As to the *envy* which has so long been assailing me from so many base bosoms, I am driving it fast down to its native hell. Adversity is the school of wisdom, suffering produces reflection, and, sometimes amendment; and, thank God, the Landlords of England are now in this school and under this course of study. I thank God for it; for, without suffering, and great suffering, too, in this quarter, there was no hope of a restoration of those rights and of that freedom, without the possession of which it is *base to be happy*. I trust, that, when you see England again, you will then, or soon afterwards, see her both happy and free; for, as to the *present state* of things, it is wholly

impossible that it should be of any considerable duration.

God bless you.

WM. CORBETT.

P. S. I shall send you off, in the course of *two months*, at farthest, my *History of the Persecutions of the late injured, beloved, and ever-lamented QUEEN*, the conduct of the *German* people with regard to whose remains, reflects such great honour on them, and forms such a contrast with that of the *Irish*. When you have distributed that work you will have performed *your duty* towards that unfortunate lady.

The *Manchester Paper-Money Meeting* must be put off till my next; and also several other things, pointed out by *correspondents*.

The following is a list of the names of the members of the American Medical Association who have been elected to the office of President for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

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OF

MR. COBBETT'S PUBLICATIONS.

*To be had at No. 1, Clement's Inn,
Strand, London.*

COTTAGE ECONOMY.

Number 2 of this little work contains a PLATE representing the BREWING MACHINE in all its parts, accompanied with explanations of their several uses in the process of brewing, together with a statement of the different prices of the Machine in its various sizes—Two editions of the first Number have been published, and a third is in the press.—The Third Number will be published on the first of October.

COBBETT'S SERMONS. Published on the first day of every month, price 3d. and of which seven numbers are already published. No 1. "Na-
" both's Vineyard, or God's Vengeance
" against Cruelty, and Hypocrisy."—
No 2. "The Sin of Drunkenness in
" Kings, Priests and People."—No 3.
"The Fall of Judas, or God's Ven-
" geance against Bribery."—No 4.

"The Rights of the Poor, and the Pu-
" nishment of Oppressors."—No 5.
"God's Judgment on unjust Judges."
"No. 6. "The Sluggard." No. 7.
"God's Vengeance against Murderers."

COBBETT'S YEAR'S RESI-
DENCE IN AMERICA.—A thick
Octavo Volume, price 10s. in boards.
Intended for the use of all those who
wish to know what America really is.
It consists of "a description" of the
country, its inhabitants, climate and
soil. Its productions, also, are copi-
ously treated of, in which the author
has introduced many valuable experi-
ments of his own.

COBBETT'S GRAMMAR, a new
and neat edition, price 2s. 6d. bound
in boards. It was intended for the
use of young persons in general, and
especially for the use of soldiers,
sailors, apprentices and plough boys;
but, the author has discovered, (in
rather an odd manner) that it is in
great vogue amongst "statesmen;"
and God knows, it was not before it
was wanted by them!

The Preliminary part of PAPER
AGAINST GOLD. The main object
of which is to shew the JUSTICE and

NECESSITY of reducing the interest of that which is called the NATIONAL Debt, in order to rescue the rightful Proprietors of the land from the grasp of the devouring race engendered by Paper Money.

"PAPER AGAINST GOLD."

A new edition of this work is now published, 'price 5s. in boards. It contains a full exposure of the mystery of the Bank, the Fund and the Paper-system.

A thing that is a great favourite with the Author: "The AMERICAN GARDENER; or, a treatise on the situation, soil, fencing and laying-out of Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Green-houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Table-Vegetables, Herbs, Fruits, and Flowers." Second edition.

BRIDGE STREET BANDITTI

versus

THE PRESS.

Just Published by R. Carlile, 55 Fleet Street, Price 1s. 6d. A Correct Report of the Trial of Mary Anne Carlile, for publishing a New Year's Address to the Reformers of Great Britain; written by Richard Carlile; at the instance

of the Un-Constitutional Association: before Mr. Justice Best, and a Special Jury, at the Court of King's Bench, Guildhall, London, July 24, 1821; with the NOBLE AND EFFECTUAL SPEECH OF MR. COOPER IN DEFENCE, AT LARGE.

An Appeal to every part of the Public but Public Robbers.

The Societies, which denominate themselves, a Society for the Suppression of Vice, and a Constitutional Association, having through their organ the New Times newspaper, avowed their union and determination to shut up the shop 55 Fleet Street, *if possible*, R. Carlile pledges himself that he will so far make a stand against them, as to defeat and annihilate them, if the honest part of the Public who are most interested in the issue will give him a fair and liberal support. Money is the sinew of this as well as a less honourable warfare, and R. C. feels assured that one tenth part of the money which those two Societies will have to spend, will enable him effectually to defeat the whole gang. R. C. has struggled on during an imprisonment of twenty-one months, and as

"there are but fifteen months remain-
 "ing of the period allotted him for
 "imprisonment, he feels assured that
 "the support which he now asks from
 "the Public, will enable him to tri-
 "umph over all conspirators against
 "the Press being made an useful in-
 "strument. This is his first appeal
 "to the Public, and will be the last:
 "As an individual he will continue to
 "do his utmost; as an instrument in
 "the hands of an honest public he will
 "support their wishes and exertions
 "as far as that public will support
 "him. There are two ways to which
 "he looks for support, by a liberal
 "purchase and circulation of his
 "publications, and by subscription.
 "Either way that shall prove sufficient
 "will be to him equally satisfactory.
 "His expenses at present are extremely
 "heavy to meet the prosecutions
 "which have already come against
 "him, and he is not in a condition
 "to meet a further expense without
 "the assistance he now solicits and
 "feels himself entitled to."

Dorchester Gaol, August 28th, 1821.

The following sums have been re-
 ceived during his imprisonment from
 the respective places, for which R. C.
 returns thanks, and flatters himself
 that they have been well applied.

	£	s.	d.
Birmingham.....	2	12	6
Chichester.....	0	13	0
Cambridge.....	1	0	0
Crayford.....	1	11	0
Dartford.....	0	1	0
Deptford.....	1	3	0
Edinburgh.....	10	0	0
Plertford.....	0	2	6
The Island of Jamaica....	2	0	0
Leeds.....	5	8	1
Lynn.....	1	0	0
Manchester.....	12	2	6
Macclesfield.....	1	0	0
Nottingham.....	7	13	4
Norwich.....	2	0	0
Oldham.....	1	14	0
Pulborough.....	1	0	0
Portsea.....	1	13	0
Richmond, Yorkshire.....	1	0	0
Sheffield.....	5	5	0
Stokesley, Yorkshire.....	0	4	4
Stockport.....	1	0	0
Taunton, Somerset.....	0	5	0
Wisbeach.....	2	14	6
London and its vicinity..	146	6	3
	£ 209	19	0